

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LISBON NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 221808

NODIS

STADIS

LISBON FOR AMBASSADOR

FOLLOWING REPEAT PARIS 23988 ACTION SECSTATE 17 SEPT

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 23988

NODIS/STADIS

DEPT PLS PASS LISBON

LISBON FOR AMBASSADOR, EUR FOR HARTMEN, EYES ONLY FROM
LOWENSTEIN

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PA,FR, PINT, OVIP (MCGOVERN, SENATOR GEORGE)

SUBJECT: SENATOR MCGOVERN'S INTEREST IN CALLING ON
CUNHAL

REF: LAINGEN-LOWENSTEIN TELCON

1. IN MY CONVRSAION WITH JOHN RITCH, I USED THE
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FOLLOWING LINE IN ARGUING AGAINST A CALL ON CUNHAL:

A) AMERICAN INTEREST IN WUROP IN GENERAL AND IN PORTUGAL IN PARTICULAR WOULD BE DAMAGED BY INCREASED STATURE TO CUNHAL WHICH WOULD ACCURE A MEETING WITH THE SENATOR.

B) DEPARTMENT OFFICERS WHO DAILY WORK ON PROTIGUEESE AFFAIRS ARE AGAINST THE CALL. THEY BELIEVE IT WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE IN TERMS OF THE SOLUTIONS WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN PORTUGAL.

C) EUROPEAN SOCIALISTS-- PARTICUWLARLY THOSE WHO HAVE THE MOST INFULENCE WITH SOARES (SEE BELOW) --WOULD BE OUTRAGED.

D) ANY POSSIBLE ADVANTAGE TO THE SENATOR FROM WIDER RANGE OF VIEWS OBTAINED THROUGH CALL WOULD BE FAR OUTWEIGHED BY THE ADVERSE REACTION LIKELY TO FOLLOW THE CALL. IF THE REACTION COULD BE EXPECTED TO BE MUTED IN THE US, IT WOULD BE PUBLIC AND NIOSY IN EUROPE.

2. SINCE SENATOR MCGOVERN IS CALLING ON FRANCOIS MITTERRAND TODAY, EMBASSY SUGGESTED AND I APPROVED SOUNDING OUT SENIOR STAFFERS IN THE FRENCH PS ON MITTERRAND'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS A CUNHAL CALL. THEY FULLY EXPECT THAT IF THE SENATOR RAISES THE SUBJECT, MITTERRAND WILL EXPLAIN THAT A CALL ON CUNHAL WOULD WORK AGAINST PSP INTERESTS, WOULD DAMAGE SOARES' CREDIBILITY AND WOULD BE VERY BADLY RECEIVED BY THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS.

3. IN A RELATED DEVELOPEMENT, FOLLOWING AN APPERANCE ON FRENCH NATIONAL TV (FOR A DEBATE ON "HOW UNCLE SAM'S DOING") SENATOR MCGOVERN IS REPORTED TO HAVE RAISED QUESTION OF POSSIBLE CALL ON CUNHAL WITH MOHAMED HAYKAL, EX-EDITOR OF CAIRO'S AL-AHRAM. HAYKAL IS SAID TO HAVE VEHEMENTLY OPPOSED THE CALL, AND IS ALLEGED TO HAVE PHONED MITTERRAND THIS MORNING TO URGE HIM TO DISCOURAGE THE SENATOR DURING THE COURSE OF THEIR CONFIDENTIAL

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MEETING SEPTMENBER 17.
AS YOU MAY ALREADY KNOW, WHEN MCGOVERN WAS IN LONDON ROY HATTERSLY IS SAID TO HAVE TOLD MCGOVERN THAT IT WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA TO CALL ON CUNHAL.

4. THE ONLY PARTIALLY ENCOURAGING REACTION TO HIS PROPOSED CALL WHICH MCGOVERN HAD THUS FAR RECEIVED IN PARIS CAME FROM FRANCOIS DE LABOULAYE, THE QUAI'S POLITICAL

DIRECTOR. MCGOVERN OPENED HIS DISCUSSION WITH
DE LABOULAYE SEPTEMBER 17 BY ASKING WHAT THE GOF
REACTION TO SUCH A CALL MIGHT BE. DE LABOULAYE
ANSWERED SOMEWHAT CIRCUITOUSLY BY SAYING THAT HE COULD

UNDERSTAND AMERICAN FEARS OF APPEARING TO ENCOURAGE
THE PORTUGUESE TO HAVE COMMUNIST IN THE GOVERNMENT,
AND THAT THE GOF WAS ALSO WORRIED ABOUT THE PROBLEM.
BUT HE URGED THAT HIS AMERICAN GUEST UNDERSTAND THE
SPECIFIC EUROPEAN CONTEXT WHICH SOMETIMES MAKE IT
BETTER TO HAVE COMMUNISTS INSIDE THE GOVERNMENT
SHARING RESPONSIBILITY THAN TO HAVE THEM OUTSIDE THE
GOVERNMENT CRITICIZING GOVERNMENT PLANS. AS AN
EXAMPLE, DE LABOULAYE CITED THE FRENCH EXPERIENCE
OF 1945 IN WHICH THE FAMADIER GOVERNMENT HAD COMMUNIST
MINISTERS: "YOU HELPED US THEN. REMADIER BECAME
STRONG WITH YOUR HELP AND WAS ABLE TO KICK OUT THE
COMMUSISTS-- AND GET AWAY WITH IT." IMPRESSION OF
EMBOFF WHO WAS PRESENT IS THAT THE NET RESULT WAS
THAT MCGOVERN HAS BEEN ENCOURAGED TO PRESS FOR A MEETING
WITH CUNHAL.

5. AFTER OUR DISCUSSION SEPTEMBER 16, I BELIEVE
I HAVE A COMMITMENT FROM SENATOR MCGOVERN TO TAKE NO
ACTION UNTIL HE HAS SPOKEN WITH YOU AND TO BE GUIDED
BY YOUR ADVICE. RUSH UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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